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How Learned were the Mughals: Reflections on Muslim Libraries in India

KALPANA DASGUPTA

The culture of any historical period is contained in its institutions of learning. The Mughal rulers of India made great contributions to Indian learning and culture; they were also noted for making achievements in the different fields of education, art, literature and music. Book making and libraries made a very remarkable progress during this period of Indian history.

Hindustan (India) first tasted Muslim invasion as early as the eighth century A.D.¹ but the invaders were unsuccessful due to the strong opposition posed by the Hindu kings in both western and southern India. The next threat came from the northwest side of India which has always been the vulnerable point in the history of invasions in later years. In 991 A.D.² Mahmud of Gazni invaded northern India and annexed Punjab in 1018 A.D.³ His expeditions were mainly for plunder, but he too faced strong opposition from the Hindu kings. After him in the late twelfth century⁴ Mohammed Ghori invaded from the northwestern corner of the country. Gradually dynasty after dynasty conquered and ruled over the northern, eastern and then the southern parts of Hindustan. The history of the Sultanate till Babur's conquest of Delhi in 1526 was one of empire building as well as of continuous wars of succession, murders and bloodshed. In the meantime, in 1398 Timur had crossed the Indus and occupied Delhi without much ado and had plundered the area to his heart's content. Thus, according to historians like Alexander Dow,⁵ the history of Muslim domination in India can be divided into two great empires: the Afghan empire till the close of the fourteenth century and then the Mughal empire in all its glory from the fifteenth century. The degeneration of the Afghan kings made it a fairly easy game for Babur, the descendent of Timur when he invaded India in the fifteenth century.

BEGINNING OF MUGHAL DYNASTY IN INDIA

The Mughal dynasty was formally started in Hindustan in the fifteenth century by Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur, who was as sturdy as his ancestor but was endowed with far more refinement and accomplishment.⁸ He was a scholar of Arabic, Persian and Turki, and is said to have been a critic of literature. He was a poet and many of his poems were quoted in his *Memoirs*. He invented a style called "Mubaiyan" and was the author of a versified treatise of the Muhammadan Law. He also composed a book on prosody entitled *Mufassal*. But his greatest achievement was his *Memoirs* written in the Turkish language.⁹ Babur encouraged calligraphy and in 1504 A.D. initiated a kind of handwriting called "Khat-i-Baburi" or "Babari hand". He indited a copy of the Quran [Koran] in that script and sent it to Mecca.⁸ Babur was fond of books and developed an imperial library with keen interest.⁹ In 1525 A.D. he was victorious over Ghazi Khan, the Afghan noble of the Punjab, and quickly took possession of his library. He wrote in his *Memoirs* "after spending two nights on the rise, I inspected the fort. I went into Ghazi Khan's book room, some of the precious things found in it, I gave to Humayun, some I sent to Kamran¹⁰ [in Quandahar]. There were many books of learned contents, but not so many valuable ones as had at first appeared."¹¹ The critical attitude of a fastidious bibliophile is very clear in the last line.

Babur's aptitude as a penmen, artist or craftsman was greatly nourished by the family tradition and example, because Timurlane in spite of his gruesome cruelties, was a man of literary tastes. When the Muslim civilization of the Middle East was destroyed in 1258 by the Tatars and the Mongols, Timurlane, the victorious King of the Mongols, collected a larger portion of the books from these lands to build his own library at the capital city of Samarkand.¹²

Literary and learned men received great encouragement from Babur. Among them was Khwandamir, a historian who was in charge of the library of the Minister of Sultan Husain of Hirat. When Khwandamir arrived in Hindustan and was introduced to Babur at Agra, Babur immediately took him in his confidence and Khwandamir accompanied Babur on his expedition to Bengal. After Babur's death he attached himself to Humayun, in whose name he wrote the *Kanun-i-Humayuni*.¹³ Babur can be credited with the beginning of the art of book illustration in Muslim India. His *Memoirs* were embellished with colored representations of the animals de-

scribed therein, which certainly proved to be an added attraction. This art was later developed by emperors of his dynasty. During his reign the Public Works Department was entrusted to build Maktabs (schools) and Madrasas (colleges). Each Madrasa during the Mughal period had a library attached to it.¹⁴

Humayun succeeded Babur in 1530 A.D. and was a worthy successor of his scholarly father. He had received an education befitting a Turki prince and had cultivated a taste for literature, art, and science. He had developed a taste for mathematics, geography, and astronomy¹⁵ and wrote on the nature of elements. Learned discussions were the order of the day at his court and he took great interest in them. He even went so far as to divide the people of his empire into three classes and the religious minded, literati, and scientists were placed at the top.¹⁶ He was a voracious reader and was very fond of books. In his childhood when on one occasion some books he had lost were found, he said "Thank God, the treasure which cannot be got again is safe; other things are easy to obtain."¹⁷ Even during his expeditions he would carry a library of selected books and a librarian with him. Khwandamir, the ex-librarian of Hirat, accompanied him during his expedition to Gujarat.

In addition to his personal talents and contributions to the different fields of art and learning, it is worth noting that he had learned the art of composition and had improved his epistolary style under the able guidance of his father. His encouraging attitude towards science is revealed by the fact that the treatise *Jawahir-al-Utum* in Arabic by Maulana Mohammad Fazil was dedicated to him. This treatise, compiled in 1538, dealt with history, astronomy, mathematics, logic, philosophy, ethics and jurisprudence.¹⁸ His poetic talents were also of no mean order. He wrote ghazals, masnawis and rub'a'is which are referred to by many historians. At his court poets from different countries such as Persia, Turkistan, Samarquand, etc., would frequently visit to take part in discussions. It is said that the Emperor was so fond of poems that a good ghazal sometimes would be sufficient to win Imperial favour.¹⁹

The magnificent "Khana-i-Tilism" was built by Humayun at Agra. Its main portion, the central one of the three buildings which was known as "Khana-i-Sadat," had the library. There were books, gilded pen cases, portfolios, picture books and beautiful works of calligraphy in the library.²⁰ The emperor's literary mind was manifested more when he converted the pleasure house at the Purana Quila (Old Fort), Delhi, which was built by Sher Shah²¹ in 1541,

into a library. It was here that Humayan met his death, brought on by a fall down the stairs of this library. He built a college in Delhi and schools in Agra. Within the short span of his life and kingship his contribution to learning was remarkable. Part of his tomb was also used as a place of instruction for quite a long period.

THE PERIOD OF "THE GREAT MUGHAL"

Akbar, the "Great Mughal" as he is called, ascended the throne after the death of his father, Humayun in 1556. He has been described as illiterate by many writers, including his own son Jahangir who wrote:

"My father always associated with the learned of every creed and religion especially with Pandits and the learned of India, and although he was illiterate, so much became clear to him through constant intercourse with the learned and wise, in his conversations with them, that no one knew him to be illiterate, and he was so acquainted with the niceties of verse and prose compositions that his deficiency was not thought of."²²

Akbar had books read aloud to him every day. Abul Fazl²³ wrote in this context:

Experienced people would bring them [books] daily and read them before His Majesty, who hears every book from the beginning to the end. At whatever page the readers daily stop, His Majesty makes with his own pen a sign; according to the number of the pages, and rewards the readers with presents of cash either in gold or silver, according to the number of leaves read out by them. Among books of renown, there are few that are not read in his Majesty's assembly hall; and there are no historical facts of the past ages, or curiosities of science, or interesting points of philosophy with which his Majesty, a leader of impartial sages, is unacquainted. He does not get tired of hearing a book over again, but listens to the reading of it with more interest.²⁴

His contribution to the development and progress of the art of writing, illustration, and translation was remarkable. Abul Fazl lists in his *Ain-i-Akbari* styles of writing that were used in the Muslim countries. In India "Nastalik" was the type of writing which Akbar liked best and the renowned master of the art Muhammad Husain of Kashmir, was honoured by the title "Golden Pen" (Zarrin-Kalam).²⁵

Akbar's inability to read did not hinder his appreciation for the beauty of writing and the delicate illustrations which enriched the manuscripts. His active interest in ancient Sanskrit literature was manifested through his orders for the preparation of Persian translations and adaptations of the Hindu epics and other masterpieces. *Atharvaveda* and the epics *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* were translated by very learned Persian scholars. The *Atharvaveda* was translated into Persian by Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi²⁶ and *Ramayana* was translated by Badaoni or Abdu-l-Qadir at Akbar's orders.²⁷ *Mahabharata* was named *Razmnama* [Book of War]. Akbar himself translated some passages of the *Mahabharata*.²⁸ The *Razmnama* was illuminated and repeatedly copied and Abu-l-Fazl wrote an introduction to it. The Hindi love story of Nal and Daman was translated by Shaykh Fayzi-l-Fayyazi and it was among those books that were read in the court. *Lilavati*, the treatise on mathematics was also translated during his reign. Khan-i-Khanan²⁹ translated the *Memoirs of Babur* from Turki to Persian.

The Imperial library was administered very well during his reign. "Akbar's ancestors, notwithstanding their stormy lives, had loved and collected books."³⁰ Akbar introduced and implemented reforms into the management, classification and storage of books.³¹ He added to this library enormously, both qualitatively and quantitatively making the royal library one "to which probably no parallel then existed or even has existed in the world."³² The library was divided into compartments on the basis of the estimation in which the different sciences were held. They were further divided according to the different languages in which they were written, e.g., Persian, Greek, Arabic, Hindi, etc. Each section was again subdivided into prose and poetry and the books were arranged accordingly.³³

The library was managed by experienced supervisors. The officer-in-charge had the title "Nizam" and his assistant was "Muhatin" or "Darogha." There were several assistants to enter the books in the register and to keep separate registers for each subject and number the books. The Nizam was also responsible for the selection and purchase of books for the library. There were people employed for the upkeep and correction of books. The scribes, painters, copyists, gilders and binders were all masters in their art. The translators had permanent posts and they were usually well versed in Arabic and Persian.

The emperor was very fond of beautifully written and profusely illustrated manuscripts for his Imperial library. Books in both prose

and verse were richly illuminated by eminent artists. The famous manuscripts of *Razm-Namah* was said to have cost Akbar £40,000.³⁴ Two volumes of this manuscripts are now in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.³⁵ Volumes of his library like *Chingiz-Namah*, *Ramayana*, *Nala Damana*, *Kaliya Damana*, etc., were all illuminated and illustrated.³⁶

Akbar loved calligraphy, and did not very much care for printing, though he was not hostile to it. The first Jesuit mission presented him with the Bible in Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek and Latin, the *Royal Polyglot* of Montanus printed at Antwerp in 1569-1572.³⁷ The Jesuit fathers also presented Akbar with the Persian translations of the *Life of Christ* and the Christian religious books. A copy of the *Lives of the Apostles*, translated from Latin to Persian by Fr. Jerome Xavier of the Society of Jesus, was dedicated to the Emperor.³⁸ Thus the royal library chanced to acquire quite a number of European books during his reign. When he died in 1605 an inventory of the Imperial library revealed that it contained 24,000 volumes beautifully illustrated and bound which could be evaluated at more than half a million pounds sterling.³⁹

Private libraries were also common at that time. Almost all learned scholars and rich patrons possessed libraries of their own. The nobles competed with each other in adding rare books to their libraries. Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan possessed a large personal library where he had a permanent staff of ninety-five for its upkeep and management. It included a librarian, Khushnavis, a painter, a book binder, and scribes, among others.⁴⁰ Shaikh Faizi⁴¹ also had a good collection in his library which contained 4,600 manuscripts either in the handwriting of the author or written in the author's time.⁴² This library was merged into the Imperial library in 1595 after Shaikh Faizi's death.

Akbar's reign marks an epoch for the new system of education. He brought about a very useful blending of Muslim and Hindu learning. He founded colleges in Fatehpur Sikri, Agra and Delhi, where very learned scholars were appointed as professors.

THE POST AKBAR PERIOD

The tradition of scholarship was continued, though not in equal strides, by the descendants of the "Great Mughal". Jahangir had an excellent education and was proficient in both Persian and Turkish. His knowledge enabled him to read the *Memoirs of Babur* in the

original. He followed his ancestors in recording the events of his reign and wrote the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* [Memoirs of Jahangir] and ordered copies of it to be distributed among his chief government officers. In this context Henry Beveridge wrote:

The royal authors of the East had more blood in them than those kings whose works have been catalogued by Horace Walpole. To find a parallel to them we must go back to Julius Caesar, and even then the advantage is not upon the side of Europe. After all, the commentaries of the famous Roman are a little disappointing, and certainly the Memoirs of Babur and Jahangir are far more human and fuller of matter than the story of the Gallic wars.⁴³

Jahangir's name can be associated with a regulation which he promulgated in all his dominion, and by which the property of rich men who died heirless was to be used for building and repairing Madrasas, monasteries and libraries. He not only enriched the collections of the Imperial library during his regime but also established a picture gallery. Maktub Khan was the superintendent of both.⁴⁴ In addition to the Imperial library, Jahangir had his own library and, as his ancestors had done, he, took his library with him when he travelled. In Gujarat he presented books to the Ulemas from his personal library. Jahangir himself describes the ceremony. "On the 16th Tuesday the elite of Gujarat came to me for the second time. I again gave them Khil'ha, travelling expenses and land and then allowed them to go. I gave everyone of them from my personal library a book like *Tafsiri*, *Kashshaf*, *Tafsiri Husaini*, *Ranza-tul-Ahbab* and on the back of each book wrote the date of the arrival in Gujarat, and the bestowing of books."⁴⁵ It was a fine example of imperial largesse. He sometimes purchased manuscripts and other books for very high sums, as he bought a copy of the *Yusuf-Zulaika*, a book with paintings and illustrations, for 1000 gold mohurs, slightly more than £3000. Two copies of this are still available in India, one at the Khuda Baksh Library of Patna and the other at Shantiniketan, the University founded by the poet Tagore.⁴⁶ Like his father he loved calligraphy and presented the famous calligrapher Shaikh Farid Bakhari with a robe of honor, a jewelled sword, a pen and inkstand, and conferred the title "Mir Bakshi" on him.⁴⁷

Shan Jahan, the builder of the wonderous Taj Mahal, pursued the scholarly tradition of his father. He founded the Imperial College at Delhi and during his time due to private efforts, Lahore, Ahmeda-

bad Jaunpur and Kashmir had all become seats of learning. The Indo-Persian literature developed greatly during this period. Besides translations and original works in various fields of knowledge four voluminous dictionaries on special subject areas were compiled for and dedicated to Shah Jahan.⁴⁸ Reading was part of his daily routine when he retired to his harem. The lives of Timurlane and Babur were among his favourite books. The chief librarian of the Imperial library was called Darogha Kitab-Khana. During Shah Jahan's reign good libraries had been started by Jesuit Fathers in Agra and Delhi. These libraries contained manuscripts in eastern languages written by Jesuits, as well as oriental religious documents.⁴⁹

In 1656 Aurangzeb came to power. He was a brilliant man and a staunch muslim. He was fond of reading Islamic law, so he had the best legal minds of his kingdom compile the *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri* for which he spent a considerable amount. His love for theology led him to collect books such as commentaries of the Quran [Koran] and the *Hadis*, which augmented the collection of the Imperial library. Muhammad Shah was the librarian or Nizam of the Imperial library during this period. Aurangzeb was a good letter writer.⁵⁰ From his last will one finds that he used to transcribe copies of the Quran [Koran] and sell them for his personal expense.⁵¹ Being a fanatic muslim, Aurangzeb encouraged only Islamic learning and destroyed Hindu schools and temples.⁵²

The sun set on the Mughal Empire after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. Nadir Shah of Persia invaded Hindustan in 1733 and plundered the Imperial library of many beautifully illustrated Persian manuscripts.⁵³ Though the later Mughals were mostly very cultured and literary men, their contributions can hardly be mentioned because the days of Mughal eminence in Hindustan were gone forever.

The last Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah, was a renowned poet and he wrote under the pen name "Zafar". His poems and lyrics are still appreciated by Indians with a great feeling of nostalgia for the days before British colonization.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN EDUCATION

Women's education was not ignored in the Mughal days. Opportunities of course were mainly confined to princesses and the women of the upper class. Mughal emperors employed educated lady tutors to teach their daughters. The curriculum often included

study of Persian, Arabic, Theology and History. Most of the girls learned and recited the Quran. During Akbar's reign he made definite arrangements for imparting regular education to the ladies of the harem. Certain chambers were set apart in his palace at Fatehpur Sikri for schooling purposes.⁵⁴ Many private individuals took an interest in the promotion of learning during Akbar's rule. His chief nurse Maha Anaga founded a college in Delhi in 1561.⁵⁵

In the Mughal harem the first lady who engaged herself actively in literary pursuits was Gulbadan Begum, the daughter of Babur. She was gifted with poetic ability and was well versed in Persian and Turki. She was requested by Akbar to write the *Humayun Nama* in which she gave a valuable account of the social and political activities of that period. Her interests in literary activities were intense and she was a lover and collector of books. She is said to have had a personal library.⁵⁶

Salima Sultana, a niece of Humayun composed verses under the nomde plume of Makhfi ("concealed"). She also maintained a library of her own.⁵⁷

The historic Nur Jahan (Jahangir's wife) and Mumtaz Mahal (Shan Jahan's wife), were also remarkably talented and educated. Nur Jahan composed verses and loved books. She maintained a library with a very rich collection. The manuscript of *Diwan-i-Kamran* for which she had personally spent three gold coins called "mohurs" is still in the Khuda Baksh library of Patna.⁵⁸ Mumtaz Mahal was a great patron of men of letters. The renowned Sanskrit poet Vanisad-hara Misra, was a favourite of the Queen.⁵⁹

Jahanara, the eldest daughter of Shah Jahan was a highly educated and intelligent lady. She had in her a streak of mysticism and she often wrote "Rishalas" (pamphlets) on this subject. She also composed verses in Persian and wrote her own epitaph, which gives a clue to her simplicity and humble attitude: "Let not any person cover my tomb with anything other than earth and grass, for they are best fitted for the grave of the poor."⁶⁰

All three of these ladies of the Mughal harem were powerful figures in politics. Nur Jahan took an active interest in the administrative work and also had her personal seal, which she used while sending "Farmans" (memoranda) to different states.⁶¹ Emperor Shah Jahan consulted Mumtaz Mahal about both private and state affairs and after her early death Jahanara, the eldest daughter, became the premier lady of the harem. Her ascendancy in the court was unlimited.

Her support had to be won before one could wish to obtain the favour of the Emperor.⁶²

One of the most remarkable literary figures of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century was Zebunnisa Begum, the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb. She attained proficiency in mathematics and astronomy and was well versed in Persian and Arabic. She was also skilled in the art of calligraphy and could write Shikast, Nastaliq, and Naksh perfectly.⁶³ She built up a good library and established a translation department where a number of classical books were translated. *Zibul-Mnushaat* is a collection of her letters⁶⁴ and another work attributed to her is *Diwan-i-Makhfi*.

CONCLUSION

The patronage that learning and culture received during the Mughal period went a long way in fostering the growth of collections of books and manuscripts in institutions like Maktabs and mosques and by renowned individuals as well. This had been the general trend of ancient and medieval India in both Hindu and Muslim culture. But both institutional and personal libraries were for the use of the limited few only. The libraries that then existed were neither meant for the public nor were the ordinary people then in need of libraries.

There were innumerable political upheavals after the downfall of the Mughals. In the aftermath of wars, manuscripts and rare works of art were carried away as part of the loot by the conquerors. Interestingly enough the political disturbances from time to time did not very much affect the main web of Indian life. In spite of damages to, and even complete destruction of, cultural institutions, the main flow of existing cultural trends in the different parts of the country continued slowly as usual.

Western influence on library growth and educational development began during the days of the later Mughals, through Christian missionaries. However, the Jesuit Fathers took many Indian books back to France for the library of Louis XV.⁶⁵ Still later, many rare and valuable manuscripts in eastern languages were taken away to England to build the East India Company's library, later known as the India Office Library. In this connection it is interesting to note that Henry Beveridge has written:

There are more Persian manuscripts in Europe than in India—and there is certainly no library in the latter which can be compared with the vast collections of the British Museum, the India Office library, the Bodleian and of the Berlin Library.⁶⁶

Opinions still differ as to the wisdom of building up the Oriental Collections in European capitals, far from the cultural heritage these collections represent.

In India today, some libraries, namely the Khuda Baksh Library of Patna, the Salar Jang Museum Library of Hyderabad, the Rampur State Library, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Calcutta and the Buhar Collection at the National Library in Calcutta, the Oriental Manuscripts Library in Madras, and the Bombay University Library still possess a considerable rare manuscripts of the Mughal period. Some of these are:

Babur-namah or *Tuzuk-e-Baburi*, the autobiographical memoirs of Emperor Babur. The greater part of Babur's life was spent in fighting wars. He won over Kabul in 1504, Quandahar in 1506 and, after invading Hindustan several times, finally defeated Ibrahim Lodi in 1526. He was a worthy sovereign and had made various social and political improvements during his short reign, dying in 1530. The manuscripts are still in the Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.⁶⁷ A copy is also in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

Akbar-namah, written by Abul Fazl Allami. This contains the detailed history of the fifty years of the Emperor's reign. It is divided in three volumes: the first is the history of the House of Timur to the death of Humayun; the second records the reign of Akbar from 1556-1604; and the third the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the famous administrative report of Akbar's empire.⁶⁸ It has Nastaliq character and very steady, elegant hand. The first two folios are beautifully decorated in various hues, with water color painting at the top of the first page. Chapter headings and the margins are decorated by different colors. The manuscripts of this famous work are still available in various collections such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, the Khuda Baksh Library, Patna, the Governmental Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras and the Buhar Collection of the National Library, Calcutta.

Tarjumah-e-Mahabharat or *Razmnamah* a Persian translation of the great Indian epic done in 1582 by order of Akbar by four translators and the preface was written by Abul Fazl. The manu-

scripts are in Asiatic Society of Bengal Library and the Buhar Collection of the National Library, Calcutta.⁶⁹

Jahangir-namah or *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* is also an autobiographical memoir of the Emperor Jahangir from his birth to the nineteenth year of his reign. According to historians, his diary is the prime source of information about his reign and his personality. The manuscripts are divided into three categories: the earliest version, the authentic version, and the garbled version.⁷⁰ It is in Nastaliq character and in neat bold hand; the headings are in red ink. The earliest and the garbled versions are in the collection of the Khuda Baksh Library, Patna, and the authentic version is in Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Diwan-e-Kamran consists of Persian and Turkish poems written by Humayun's brother Mirza Kamran. The Khuda Baksh Library has a copy which bears the autographs of Jahangir and Shah Jahan and seals and signatures of various nobles of the Mughal court. This copy was once owned by Nur Jahan. Other manuscripts are at the Rampur State Library and the Asiatic Society of Bengal.⁷¹

Diwan-e-Makhfi is a collection of poems by Aurangzeb's eldest daughter, Zebunnisa who used the pseudonym "Makhfi". The manuscripts are available in Asiatic Society of Bengal Library and at the Shantiniketan Library.

To give a sketchy idea of the libraries which still carry the main bulk of the manuscripts of the Mughal period one can mention the following libraries: Khuda Baksh Library, Patna has approximately 11,500 manuscripts of the Mughal period in good condition. The library has its own bindery and the manuscripts are kept in closed almirahs. Traditional naptheline bricks, sprays, etc., are used for preservation from insects. The manuscripts mainly cover the Islamic sciences.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal Library, Calcutta, was established in 1784 by Sir William Jones. It carries approximately 1,013 Arabic and 1,418 Persian manuscripts. The codex of the *Padshanamah* bearing the autograph of Emperor Shahjahan is among the collection.⁷² The Raza Library, Rampur also has a good collection of approximately 4,467 Arabic and 4,253 Persian manuscripts, which is more than the Asiatic society of Bengal.⁷³

The Salar Jung Museum library, Bombay, the University Library and the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras are well known for their manuscripts collection. There are still many more libraries which can be named but unfortunately there are remote corners and

unknown feudal families where very valuable manuscripts are lying undiscovered and unidentified. Hopefully most of these will be discovered and preserved for future generation.

NOTES

1. K. M. Panikar, *A Survey of Indian History* (reprint., Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1966), p. 117.
2. Ibid., p. 119.
3. Ibid., p. 120.
4. Ibid., p. 122.
5. J. S. Grewal, *Muslim Rule in India: the Assessment of British Historians* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1970) p. 16.
6. N. N. Law, *Promotion and Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule by Muhammadans* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1916), p. 121.
7. Ibid., p. 122.
8. Ibid., p. 123.
9. B. K. Datta, *Libraries and Librarianship of Ancient and Medieval India* (Delhi: Atma Ram and Sons, 1970), p. 61.
10. Humayun and Kamram were his two sons.
11. Babur, Emperor of Hindustan 1483-1530, *Babur Nama* (Memoirs of Babur) trans. A. S. Beveridge (London: Luzac & Co., 1921), p. 460.
12. S. K. Padover, "Muslim Libraries" in J. M. Thompson *The Medieval Library* (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1957), p. 355.
13. H. M. Elliot and John Dowson; *The History of India by its own Historians* (Allahabad: Kitab Mahal Pvt. Ltd., 1964) 4:143.
14. Datta, *Libraries and Librarianship*, p. 61.
15. Ishwari Prasad, *Life and Times of Humayun* (Bombay: Orient Longmans Ltd, 1956), p. 363.
16. Law, *Promotion and Learning*, p. 129.
17. Prasad, *Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 364.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., p. 366.
20. Datta, *Libraries and Librarianship*, p. 63.
21. Sher Shah defeated Humayun in 1540. He ruled over Hindustan for five years.
22. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or Memoirs of Jahangir*, trans. Alexander Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge. 2nd ed. (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Oriental Publishers and Booksellers, 1968), p. 33.
23. Abu-l-Fazl was the greatest historian and author of Akbar's reign. His *Ain-i-Akbari* is an unparalleled biography.
24. Abu-l-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari* trans. H. Blochman (New Delhi: New Imperial Book Depot, 1965), 1: 110-111.
25. Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mughul 1542-1605*, 2nd ed. (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1958), p. 309.
26. Law, *Promotion and Learning*, p. 148.
27. Abu-l-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, 1: 110-111.
28. Ibid., p. 111.
29. Khan-i-Khanan was a renowned scholar as well as a great warrior.
30. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 307.

31. Pran Nath Chopra, *Some Aspects of Society and Culture During Mughal Age, 1526-1707* (Agra: Shivalal Agarwala & Co., 1963), p. 168.
32. Smith, *Akbar*, pp. 307-308.
33. Abu-l-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 110.
34. Law, *Promotion and Learning*, p. 153.
35. D. N. Marshall, *Mughals in India: A Bibliographical Survey* (Bombay Asia Publishing House, 1967) vol. 1, *Manuscripts*, p. 18.
36. Datta, *Libraries and Librarianship*, p. 68.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
38. Rev. H. Hosten S. J. "Fr. Jerome Xavier's Persian Lives of the Apostles," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 10 (1914): 66.
39. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 308.
40. Chopra, *Some Aspects of Society*, p. 170.
41. Shaikh Faizi was a renowned poet.
42. Chopra, *Some Aspects of Society*, p. 170.
43. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 7 (Preface).
44. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
45. Datta, *Libraries and Librarianship*, pp. 70-71.
46. Chopra, *Some Aspects of Society*, p. 166.
47. Datta, *Libraries and Librarianship*, p. 71.
48. B. P. Saksena, *History of Shah Jahan of Dihli* (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1958), p. 256.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 277.
50. Law, *Promotion and Learning*, p. 193.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
52. Datta, *Libraries and Librarianship*, p. 74.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
54. Law, *Promotion and Learning*, p. 202.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
56. Rekha Misra, *Women in Mughal India, 1526-1748*, (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1967), p. 88.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
58. Chopra, *Some Aspects of Society*, p. 166.
59. Misra, *Women in Mughal India*, p. 89.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 149, "Appendix 'A' "
62. Misra, *Women in Mughal India*, p. 42.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
64. *Ibid.*
65. Datta, *Libraries and Librarianship*, p. 76.
66. H. Beveridge, "Notes on Persian Manuscripts in Indian Libraries" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1901), p. 84.
67. Marshall, *Mughals in India*, p. 97.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
72. A. K. Ohdedar, *The Growth of the Library in Modern India: 1498-1836* (Calcutta: The World Press Pvt. Ltd., 1966), p. 79-82.
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